7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hara*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Mizwli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

## OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the el-Wasțiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "balls"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]



of the Waxmeys and the Mawli as groups. The Waxmeys are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomas, 1956, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, matching up the mail with

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*Land Operation*

Many conclusions should not be drawn from the tables on land ownership, or the fact that 471 427
three persons own 42 percent of the land area in the project villages and reside in the cities of Beirut and Saida. A condemnation of the system as representative of the absentee-owner «Feudal Lord» pattern would not be completely justified. Under the absentee-ownership system typical in the Middle East, the large landowner resides in the city or abroad and the land is rented on a share basis. The owner provides virtually no capital or supervision.

In order to render valid conclusions about the area under discussion it is essential that not only the ownership pattern but also the system of operation be examined. Although the three largest landowners, owning 11,300 dunums of land in the five project villages, reside in Beirut or Saida, they directly operate 82 percent of their lands or all but 2,000 dunums. It can be concluded that these examples are not actually cases of absenteeism. Many others of the large landowners who reside outside the villages are within an hour's drive from their lands and take a personal interest in them. Owners often directly operate a considerable portion of their holdings by employing labor from the nearby villages. Therefore their lands often are not let on a share-crop basis. The landlord invests his energy, capital, and managerial ability in the land, and the work of field laborers is closely supervised. In light of the meager credit facilities in Lebanon, the landowner serves 452
as a valuable source of investment capital.

From scattered interviews with peasants, it appears that they would consider 100 dunums of 471
dry land or 20 to 30 dunums of irrigated land as a suitable farm unit. This might be considered as the «family-sized farm». Unfortunately, it was found impractical to obtain data on the ownership and operation of dry and irrigated land separately. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the ability of the existing holdings to support their predominantly agricultural population. It is, however, possible to conclude that few people own or operate holdings sufficient to secure them livelihood. In Saroland where 150 dunums are irrigated, 350 persons operate farms of less than 25 dunums (6 acres). This is predominantly an area of dry farming and farmers work for less land than is needed for actual subsistence. Completion of the Kasmie Irrigation project will materially increase the irrigated area in this khoroj.

heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household.**
**Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65**

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home.**
**Table 66**

The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address.**
**Table 67**

For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1949) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

dings, constitute the physical housing problem of Beirut.

7.8 Incidence of gardenplots attached to residences, Table 101

A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 Number of dwelling rooms in building, Table 102

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms pr building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 Number of people living in building, Table 103

The concentration of pople in buildings is shown in the table. The rude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 Number of families on floor of interviewed household, Table 104

The great majority of the sample (87 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those flors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 Number of rooms pr household unit, Table 105

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 3.

7.13 Terms of rental payment for dwelling, Table 106

Rental payments are usually made either

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (20 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy. Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household. Table 108

[Del] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household. Table 109

312 346 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household. Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household. Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

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556 bracket spending, is two hundred and fifty-six pounds. Over eighty percent of the sample claimed not to have bought any furniture. The total estimated yearly expenditure for the population is 12,800,000 L.L.

9.3 Yearly rental cost (actual or imputed). Table 124

556 #27 Rental cost was another category which the project directors felt was likely to be known per year. A total of 1,680,000 L.L. was paid in rent by the people surveyed which led to our estimate of 46,524,000 L.L. as the total rental payment for the year by the population of Beirut, or a per family expenditure of 926 L.L. The modal expenditure, however, is quite low at about 200 L.L. per year. It should be remembered that rent control has been in operation for over thirteen years.

9.4 Cost of water b/l in year previous to interview. Table 125

55[illegible] Water expenditures for those whose water cost was not included in the rent amounted to an estimated yearly total of 754,000 L.L.. The amount spent for water by the landlords of the thirteen percent whose water costs were included in the rent are probably substantially higher than the average for those tenants who pay the company directly. A plurality of residents (38%) buy water by the quarter-cubic-meter per day per apartment. The maximum of a full cubic meter was relatively infrequent (3 %), but the unmetered apartments are apt to be newer and upper class and to have a greater usage of water. This amount is therefore unknown.

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Table 67

Length of Time at Present Address

| No. of years | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 1848 | 100.00 |
| Less than 1 year | 180 | 9.74 |
| 1 - 3 years | 433 | 23.37 |
| 4 - 6 years | 274 | 14.83 |
| 7 - 10 years | 170 | 9.20 |
| More than 10 years | 792 | 42.86 |

$\eta^2$ = .145
$\nu$ = .018

Table 68

Previous Location of Household

| Location | Number | Percent | sp |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1789 | 100.00 | |
| Rural | 148 | 8.30 | .006 |
| Bahrain | 1451 | 81.13 | .009 |
| Other Gulf States | 30 | 1.68 | |
| Other Arab Country | 104 | 5.84 | .005 |
| Other Country | 49 | 2.75 | .004 |

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Table 106

Terms of Rental Payment for Dwelling

| Rental payment terms | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1700 | 100.00 | |
| Monthly | 656 | 38.59 | .018 |
| Quarterly | 75 | 4.41 | .010 |
| Semi-annual | 30 | 1.76 | |
| Yearly | 513 | 30.18 | .011 |
| Owns | 341 | 20.06 | .009 |
| Free lease | 73 | 4.29 | .005 |
| No answer | 12 | 0.71 | |

Table 107

Location of Kitchen Facilities by Privacy

| Location of kitchen facilities | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1742 | 100.00 | |
| Private in house | 1558 | 89.44 | .007 |
| Shared in house | 108 | 6.20 | .006 |
| Private outside | 56 | 3.21 | .004 |
| Shared outside | 20 | 1.15 | |

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#27

## Table 124

### Yearly Rental Cost (Actual or Imputed)

| Rental | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 1851 | 100.00 |
| Less than 100 L.L. | 74 | 4.00 |
| 101 – 200 | 202 | 10.91 |
| 201 – 300 | 333 | 13.59 |
| 301 – 400 | 133 | 7.19 |
| 401 – 500 | 169 | 9.13 |
| 501 – 750 | 243 | 13.13 |
| 751 – 1000 | 224 | 12.10 |
| 1001 – 1500 | 262 | 14.16 |
| 1501 – 2000 | 104 | 5.62 |
| 2001 – 2500 | 55 | 2.97 |
| 2501 – 3000 | 48 | 2.59 |
| 3001 – 3500 | 21 | 1.14 |
| 3501 – 4000 | 20 | 1.08 |
| 4001 – 4500 | 4 | 0.22 |
| 4501 – 5000 | 11 | 0.59 |
| 5001 – 5500 | 1 | 0.05 |
| 5501 – 6000 | 6 | 0.32 |
| 6001 – 6500 | 9 | 0.49 |
| 6501 – 7000 | 1 | 0.05 |
| 7001 – 7500 | – | – |
| 7501 – 8000 | – | – |
| 8001 – 8500 | – | – |
| 8501 – 9000 | – | – |
| 9001 – 9500 | – | – |
| 9501 – 10000 | 1 | .05 |
| 10001 – 10500 | 2 | .11 |
| 10501 – 11000 | – | – |
| 11001 – 11500 | – | – |
| 11501 – 12000 | – | – |
| 12001 – 12500 | – | – |
| 12501 – 13000 | – | – |
| 13001 – 13500 | – | – |
| 13501 – 14000 | – | – |
| 14001 – 14500 | – | – |
| 14501 – 15000 | – | – |
| 15001 – 15500 | 1 | .05 |
| No answer | 27 | 1.46 |

$\sigma_{\bar{y}} = 25.3$
$v = .027$

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most in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

L
471
241
511
M
471

The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 90 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

L
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Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or qatawi (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and some left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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